

Philippe SAGANT, A Passion for Ethnology

A Tribute coordinated by Katia Buffetrille and Marie Lecomte-Tilouine

Philippe Sagant was born on May 8, 1936 and passed away on January 10, 2015, after a long and painful illness. Here we have traced the milestones of his career and of his intellectual life, before moving on to some short tributes from his colleagues and students.

After studying at the EPHE, in 1973 Philippe Sagant defended his doctoral thesis, entitled *Le paysan limbu, sa maison et ses champs* (“The Limbu peasant, his house, and his fields”) at the University of Paris VII, under the supervision of Lucien Bernot (EHESS). Assigned to the Museum d’Histoire Naturelle/Musée de l’Homme in 1965, he joined the CNRS in 1966 as a Research Associate in Anthropology, was promoted to the position of Research Fellow in 1974, and ended his career as Director of research at the CNRS.

A member of the Centre d’études de l’Inde et de l’Asie du Sud from 1966, Philippe Sagant taught at the University of Haute-Bretagne, Rennes, from 1978 to 1983, and at the University of Paris X, Nanterre, in Alexander Macdonald’s seminar “The Himalayan Area” for Masters students, and at INALCO, where he lectured on Nepalese Civilization from 1981 to 1993.

At the outset, Philippe Sagant conducted fieldwork in the Aubrac region of France. He then decided to specialize on Nepal and made several trips there between 1966 and 1986. He chose to study a small Tibeto-Burman language speaking group located at the eastern border of the country: the Limbu. The major part of his work is based on ethnographic data that he gathered in the “Limbu Country,” with, first of all, his doctoral thesis, which formed the basis of his reference book: *Le paysan limbu, sa maison et ses champs* (Mouton, 1976). We will let Alexander Macdonald, his friend and colleague, highlight the exceptional qualities of this work:

Here we have the most accurate and living picture of peasant life from the hills of Eastern Nepal. [...] P. Sagant [...] notes “the emergence of a society with class tendencies which is based on caste and ethnic divisions” (p. 273), and which is subject to the administrative authority of Kathmandu. He explains this social upheaval by the

profound transformation of the technical environment: implements, dominated by the plough, are currently the same for all people of the hills and everywhere the same agriculture is practised. [...] [H]e makes us understand in exciting ways “the struggle for land” and the challenge of the competition for land [...]. P. Sagant has given us a definitive work on the Limbu house and Limbu agriculture. I hope he will not mind me suggesting that he has also given us an essential book for understanding the political Hinduization of Eastern Nepal.¹

Starting from the study of agriculture, tools and land, Philippe Sagant would soon become an accomplished anthropologist in the domains of religion and politics. His intimate knowledge of the village context led him to differentiate himself radically from studies previously conducted on shamanism, showing that a performance should not be understood in isolation, but must be situated as part of a life course in which the collective interpretation of events takes precedence. In this area, where local chiefs ruled over small territories literally as local kings, he took pains to understand the origins of this fragmentation and how it worked, as well as the role of the Assembly of Chiefs. He also investigated the nature of the authority of the leader in this composite environment between animist shamanism and Hinduism. He highlighted the role of hunting and of the vital force, as well as the importance of the mountain gods and the local forms of the goddess.

These themes led him quite naturally to turn to Tibet, and he chose to present his ideas to a remarkable informant: Samten Karmay. The two then decided to write a book together. In 1986-87, Philippe wished to complete his investigation by ethnographic observation, and went to Samten's village, in Tibet, along with Katia Buffettrille. He wanted to meet the people, see the villages and temples, and to immerse himself in the landscape and atmosphere of these places that he knew only through the words of Samten. Working in close cooperation on the theme of traditional authority in Tibet, they showed “convincingly that in a number of areas the chief derived his authority and legitimacy from the territorial gods” (Ramble 2008, p. 6)².

1 Alexander W. Macdonald, compte-rendu de P. Sagant “Le paysan limbu, sa maison et ses champs”, *L'Homme*, 1979, vol. 19, n° 1, pp. 156-157.

2 Charles Ramble 2008 *The Navel of the Demoness* (New York, Oxford University Press).

Following his stay in Tibet, Philippe Sagant continued his field investigation in Nepal, in the district of Manang, which was to become his last ethnographic field, and had been the source of a masterly article in which he highlighted the relationship between the worship of sacred mountains and political organization.

Lastly, some of Philippe Sagant's works were made accessible to a larger number of readers thanks to the publication, by Oxford University Press in 1996, of a collection of his articles translated into English by Nora B. Scott, under the title of one of his best essays: *The Dozing Shaman*. One can only hope that his entire œuvre, which appears below in the bibliography, will soon be published in English.



Philippe Sagant with Limbu friends in Libang. Date unknown

The thekka thiti system aimed at isolating the Limbu chiefs from each other, at breaking their political relationships, and at placing them under the direct and exclusive control of the regional court (adalat) and the land revenue office (mal adda). But instead of that, they managed, by their function as judges, to constitute a close network of personal and hierarchical relationships throughout the entire country: i.e. a feudal system. They could probably have held out for a long time. However, measures providing for the integration

*of immigrants onto the land of the clan segment opened the way to Nepali penetration deep into the Limbu country. Precipitating the transformation of the technical and economic environment, it was these measures, in the end, that allowed the Gurkha state to put a stop to the Limbu resistance.*³

According to Sagant, the role of the anthropologist was to show how a society understands itself, then to transmit this understanding to others. He liked to establish personal relationships both in the field and in everyday life, and many were marked by his teaching and his friendship. Some of them were keen to express it.



© Katia Buffetrille (1986)

*In the field, all the work of the anthropologist is to make sense of what he sees, not the sense that he, as Westerner, believes he can discern, but the one attributed by the autochtones themselves. Only then, perhaps, the real issues appear.*⁴

-
- 3 Philippe Sagant, 1978 Les pouvoirs des chefs limbu au Népal oriental, *L'Homme*, tome 18 n°1-2, pp. 106-107.
- 4 S.G. Karmay and P. Sagant, *Les Neuf Forces de l'Homme. Récits des confins du Tibet*. Nanterre, Société d'ethnologie. 1998 : 74.

Tributes from Friends and Colleagues:

My acquaintance with Philippe Sagant dates back to the year 1964 when we were both attending a class given by the unforgettable Lucien Bernot, held in the *sous-sol* of a building in rue Monsieur le Prince in Paris. Mutual sympathy and a common dilemma soon brought us closer together. We had both started specialising in the ethnology of Mainland Southeast Asia and were at the same time fully aware of the impossibility of carrying out fieldwork among any of the ethnic minorities in the then-restricted areas of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh or Burma.

One day, while we were having a drink in one of the cafés of boulevard Saint Michel, Philippe revealed to me, out of the blue, his decision to relinquish his aspirations regarding Southeast Asia and try research in Nepal instead. He also suggested that I should join him in a course of colloquial Nepali that was taking place on the top floor of the Musée de l'Homme and run by a *maître de recherche* by the name of Macdonald. That's how I came to embark on Nepal studies.

A few years later, I bumped into Philippe in Kathmandu. I had just come back from the hills, and our long, cheerful conversation inevitably pivoted around our practical experiences “out there” in our respective fields. At a certain point, I somehow felt compelled to give our talk a – perhaps rather unbecoming – academic twist by broaching the question of what exactly his current fieldwork in Limbu country was aiming at. I still recall, more or less literally, the wording of the reply Philippe gave me. He said, “Well, you know, I frequently withdraw into a nearby forest with a couple of villagers in my company; there we sit down, drink plenty of millet spirit, and I listen to the stories of the people. I'm interested in those *micro-détails* [a favourite term of Lucien Bernot] contained in their narrations.” I resisted the temptation to demand more. Inasmuch as Philippe's modesty, tinted with subtle self-irony, was notorious, I had no reason not to suspect something promising behind his understatement. And yet, who would have thought at that time that all these *détails* were already maturing like grains of sand to pearls and would a little later gather momentum to reappear in surprisingly telling contexts in his studies, such as, say, “Le chamane assoupi” or “Le paysan limbu, sa maison et ses champs”, all so well-founded and unique in their approach?

— András Höfer

The dozing ethnographer

If I remember correctly, I first met Philippe through Rolf Stein and Sandy Macdonald. Stein had given a course on the *phurbu*, which we both attended, at the Collège de France. Whenever we strolled along the streets of Paris—which must have been quite a number of times—we talked about our constant brooding concerning form: how to write ethnography. Philippe had found it for his book on the Limbu peasant. For me his descriptions of village life as determined by the seasonal changes from month to month were just perfect. Another topic of our talk was loneliness in the field. We both confessed that we had been reading trashy novels (Malinowski) to combat it—I had devoured Joyce's *Ulysses* on the porch of a Nyingmapa monastery in Rolwaling; Philippe had been distracted by Flaubert up in Libang. And we both confessed that rituals could at times be so tiresome that not only the village audience and some of the main protagonists would fall asleep, but also the most avid ethnographer. Was it this experience that gave rise to Philippe's most famous title?

— Michael Oppitz

My friendship with Philippe Sagant dates back to 1965. That year, Jacques Millot, director of the Musée de l'Homme, and Corneille Jest, researcher at CNRS, built up a Nepal research team. Philippe Sagant and I were among the first young researchers integrated into it, which allowed our recruitment to the CNRS. Philippe then went to Nepal to do his first long-duration fieldwork among the Limbu. He stayed at my place in Kathmandu in the fall of 1966 to prepare for his departure to the field, and in the summer of 1967 on his way back. During these weeks of enforced stay in Kathmandu, our friendship was forged and our discussions addressed our diverging conceptions of ethnology, which finally converged. We then had the opportunity to work together at the EHESS, as members of the "Village" team within the Centre for India and South Asia Studies (CEIAS), from 1974 to 1978, which led to two collective publications. In the first (*L'Homme* XVIII 1-2, 1978, 109-134), Philippe Sagant gave a masterly analysis of the "powers of the Limbu chiefs in eastern Nepal." He then assumed the editorial responsibility of a special issue on "Migration in Southeast Asia", *L'Ethnographie* (1978 II: 77-78). Finally, he presented an intriguing paper on "The dozing shaman" at the

South Asia conference⁵. Our paths then separated, but I keep the memory of an original ethnologist who was influential in the direction of my research and remained a faithful friend on whom one could rely.

— Marc Gaborieau

I am a reader of texts: Sanskrit texts, mostly composed twenty-five centuries ago by Brahmins, and for Brahmins. However, it is true that since my first steps in Indian studies I have met or worked alongside men and women who saw India from a very different angle: ethnologists, who studied closely-circumscribed communities, determined by their immediate environment; living communities whose lives they shared for extended periods of fieldwork. It also happened that most of these researchers were not studying India proper but—even more exotic for me—its Himalayan borderlands. Among them was Philippe Sagant. I participated with him in various meetings and gatherings, especially juries, at the Ethnology Laboratory in the University of Paris X Nanterre in the 1970s. These circumstances were not conducive to one-to-one conversations, but our discussions helped me to discover in Philippe Sagant, in addition to a rigorous and original researcher, a truly humane man, constantly concerned with the livelihoods and working conditions of students that we had certainly to guide and evaluate, but also to encourage and support. But above all the memories I have of Philippe Sagant are entirely marked by gratitude: in the issue of the journal *Purusartha* that I edited and which is devoted to “debt” in the Indian world (No. 4, 1980), is an article that Philippe Sagant kindly contributed. Altogether wide-ranging, accurate and deep, it includes a typology of debt that results from an analysis of debt modes in the Limbu country, itself linked to the history of Hinduization in these mountains, and therefore to the introduction of the caste system. It was a way of situating and setting in perspective, in time and space, the idea of “debt” that I had tried to highlight in the largely normative texts of Brahmanic India. Now that he has left us, I am eager to recall my own enduring debt to Philippe Sagant.

— Charles Malamoud

In 1976, I sought advice from Philippe Sagant for an investigation of the

5 Le chamane assoupi, in M. Gaborieau, A. Thorner (éds) *Asie du Sud : Traditions et changements* (Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), pp. 243-247.

Limbu language, and he generously gave me the name of the village, Libang, where he had worked: “I give you one name, ‘Motta ‘- Harka Jit. Go see him!” We spent two months at his home in the midst of the monsoon, and collected the stories in Limbu language that are currently available on the Pangloss website. One of these texts inspired Philippe to write a wonderful article on malevolent death, which he made me co-sign, in 1992.

What I remember of Philippe is his kindness, and the pleasure we had to receive the friendly little words, hand written, which he used to send by mail.

— Boyd Michailovsky



© Katia Buffetrille (1986)

Because I was curious about the game he was hunting, Tendar led us onto the terrace of his house. All kinds of trophies were gathered in his attic. From the top of a ladder, Dargyé was taking them out one by one; it was endless: wild sheep heads

*with gigantic horns, deer trophies with large antlers, huge stuffed bear heads, remains of wild sheep and goats I'd be hard pressed to identify*⁶

The academic milieu can seem like a mildly threatening environment at the best of times, but especially so for anyone who has been out of touch with it for a while. When, after several years of absence, I began to make faltering steps at reintegration, it was in France in the early 1990s. Among the people who convinced me that the effort would be worthwhile was Philippe Sagant. At this time he was becoming increasingly interested in trans- and cis-Himalayan comparisons, but although he had clearly read very widely and had developed numerous ideas on the subject, he made no attempt to set me on any theoretical or methodological tramlines. Over the course of coffees and lunches he just got me to talk about what I had seen and done in Tibet and the Himalaya. Talking about ethnography is not the same thing as writing it; but it does mean that you have to think about it, and, in thinking about it, subject it to a first round of organisation. There is nothing more encouraging than talking to someone who is interested in what you have to say. It makes everything more real. Spending time with Sagant made me realise that listening to stories is not just a passive exercise but, when intelligently done, has a reciprocal effect on both the story and the narrator. Philippe Sagant was an original thinker and a fine writer, but he was also an exceptionally constructive listener.

— Charles Ramble

Philippe Sagant deeply marked the generation of Himalayanists to which I belong. Above all, by the style of his writings. He managed to portray the complexity of social realities in an incisive style with great sobriety, as if telling a story. Then it was through the force of his ideas—the result of a subtle alchemy between Granet, Hocart and Marx—that Philippe Sagant compelled admiration. Asia appeared to him as a whole, within the diverse societies of which, he hunted the presence of recurring themes (such as the life force, divine election, dual power, rank, ritual hunts and games). It seemed to him that they tended to form systems, and for this reason were conducive to revealing similar social logics. Finally, Philippe

6 S.G. Karmay and P. Sagant 1998 *Ibid.*: 38.

Sagant was an outstanding ethnographer, especially meticulous about making sketches and drawings. His thoughts and often brilliant intuitions will continue to inspire us for a long time.

— Pascal Bouchery

Philippe Sagant loved stories, listening to them and telling them. He recalls in his introduction to the English edition of his essays, *The Dozing Shaman*, that it was by listening to the daily narratives by which Limbus related to the events of their lives that he felt he had access to the image they had of themselves, their institutions and the world around them. He was very attentive to the narrative quality of individuals' experience. So before I left for my first spell of fieldwork among the Kham Magar, he gave me piece of advice for which I shall always be indebted to him: "When you get to the village, tell yourself that you have to stay a month, that's all. And that after the first month, you'll be able to reconsider the case." Without this advice I would immediately have run away, unable to stand the loneliness to which the initially mistrustful and inhospitable villagers had reduced me. But a month, I thought I could stand. By telling me the beginning of my story before I lived it, Philippe had set me on the path.

— Anne de Sales

Some late afternoon around 1985-86, a café in Montparnasse, two half-pints, two Philippes face to face: debriefing. A terrorized Philippe, waiting for the verdict on two pages of rough draft on the subject of the vendetta. The other Philippe calm, holding out eight pages of comments and starting to speak, probably as shy, but with that little smile of his and all kindness. And immediately the passion, the passion for trust and vision, for connections, for comparisons, for "ethno" - as he called it respectfully. At the café, in Nanterre, or in Langues'O, you would return doggedly to the treasure you had found over there: "Shame can kill. You have to make a name for yourself". You made a great name for yourself, and you made it quietly. Cheers Prof; cheers Philippe.

— Philippe Ramirez



© Katia Buffetrille (1986)

The hearth (thab ka) is a monumental construction that stands at the foot of the west wall and occupies all the space up to middle of the room, to the point of invading it. Its “three stones” are actually packed earth constructions that elevate the hearth itself and enable the hostess to cook while standing. They are arranged in a star shape and compartmentalize the kitchen into three distinct spaces.⁷

I think of Philippe’s extraordinary generosity towards his students, even complete beginners; of the time and energy he devoted to them, and how he meticulously read everything they wrote. He had the gift of detecting in the work of each of them “ideas” that often were still very embryonic even for the author. When articulated by him, they became clear, bright and intelligent. But he would never have taken the credit for them.

Like many students he trained and supported, his advice and his words still accompany me today when I write.

— Pascale Dollfus

⁷ S. Karmay and P. Sagant La place du rang dans la maison sharwa (Amdo ancien), in D. Blamont and G. Toffin (éds) *Architecture, milieu et société en Himalaya*. Paris, Éditions du CNRS. 1987 : 238.

Philippe Sagant used to arrive to his class cheerful, hands in pockets, and to launch passionately into the evocation of a world which he knew how to make wonderful: that of the Limbus of eastern Nepal. What bliss to receive both knowledge and pleasure instead of the usual boredom that prevailed in teaching sessions! The pleasure of lively narration, but also of a stimulating thought whose specific charm came from a blend of simplicity and depth, from being anchored in the careful observation of everyday life at the service of great anthropological questions, such as the symbolic foundations of power, the spatial expression of social organization, the collective construction of individual trajectories, the conditions of the colonization of indigenous peoples and its consequences. Like his teachings, Philippe Sagant's writings did not bother with the sad academic conventions of the time and have not aged at all. They possess that rare quality of transfiguring even the arid areas of Marxist anthropology to which he long subscribed.

Philippe Sagant's enthusiasm and generosity aroused in his students a huge desire to make progress. The fact that he would take their babbling seriously and would respond with a flood of ideas elicited their respect in turn. His humanity, and the excellence of his ethnographic material, sustained by sparkling writing, as well as the freedom of his thought, made Philippe Sagant a living presence amid the shadows of the academic world, now as much as ever in the past.

— Marie Lecomte-Tilouine

I met Philippe Sagant for the first time at the University of Paris X-Nanterre in 1992 while I was a Masters student in ethnology and he was lecturing on the Himalaya. From the beginning, we got along very well and he very kindly agreed to supervise my thesis. His help and encouragement were very important to me. He spent a lot of time not just correcting the content of my text but also editing my French. After that, he continued to supervise my Phd research until he fell ill. For a long time I refused to change my supervisor, in the hope that he would come back.

— Satya Shrestha-Schipper



© Katia Buffetrille (1986)

Mowing was done during the month of the snake, the ninth month according to the Lhasa calendar, that is in November. It was a big job and people had to help each other to get it done. A group would first go to the field, then cut the grass with a sickle and leave it on the ground behind them to dry. Then, people had to make long bales/fodder bundles by twisting the cut grass with a kind of turnstile. They loaded the bales on yakback to take them down to the village ...⁸

One of the Nine Forces of Man

Philippe Sagant's great intellectual influence on my anthropological approach is all the more remarkable as I knew him very little. My acquaintance extends to attending his seminar on the Himalayan area in Nanterre the year before his terrible accident. During his seminar, we would momentarily leave the abstract structures of thought and the

⁸ S.G. Karmay and P. Sagant, 1998 *Ibid.* 118.

formal analysis of kinship systems to join the company of Yakthumba shamans, look for lost souls at the crossroads of the four directions in the other world, or ride with Sharwas and the great caravans across the high Tibetan plateau, fearing an attack by the fearsome Goloks. Philippe Sagant was a storyteller, and the enthusiasm he put into his words would spread to his audience. Yet, if these stories were sufficient in themselves to attract attention, they were not intended to be merely illustrative. They were not only anecdotes to flesh out abstract theory. They also revealed how, in those societies that are not informed by a legal code or a body of theoreticians, discourses are made and things are done, and how words and actions are built in the process of their realization. More than a narrative technique, more than a method, it was a whole approach to the field and a vision of anthropology that Philippe Sagant's narration revealed. And that was just one of the many "forces of the man."

— Grégoire Schlemmer

Philippe Sagant's communicative passion for ethnology was the mark of a teaching that was able to encourage vocations. Philippe Sagant introduced me to ethnology and to questions that were new for me then. As a supervisor, he had that rare and precious ability to transmit an analysis of his own through sensitive, detailed and challenging remarks, yet as if he had only revealed a potential in the work of his students. He was thus making them participate in the emergence of a reflection. His concern for ethnographic detail and for what he called the "narrativization of how ideas are lived" were, and continue to be, a model and an inspiration. When I later contributed to the ordering of his records, I realized even better the extent of his work and the scope of his intellectual ambition, invested in the pursuit of major ideas which he imagined as a dip into the mists of time and supporting many cultural monuments about to disappear.

— Stéphane Gros

Finding a long letter from Philippe, dated simply "Wednesday", of which I cannot fix the date. Four long pages in a firm and elegant hand, without any crossings-out. Four detailed pages on the "curse" as an institution, on rituals of plowing and sowing, their aims and the place occupied in them by Limbu clan leaders. Ethnography is alive, we are in it, with the witnesses

of that time: “It is said that seeds twitch when the force penetrates them. Children stand there goggle-eyed”. But after such a long time, the most extraordinary thing for me is that I cannot remember the questions (no doubt very brief) I could have asked that elicited such a response, the substance of a real article. Yet the opening sentence appears: “Your letter takes me far back in time in the use of the Limbu material. *It makes me see it through other eyes.*” This speaks for his generosity towards the younger people he trained, the full attention he would give you, to the point of making you, as a beginner, believe in the value of your weaknesses.

— Gisèle Krauskopff



©Katia Buffetrille (1986)

*Among the Sharwa, men wore coats, chuba, made of sheepskin, fleece inside, in contact with the body, the neck ornamented with leopard fur ... When one saw a man with a lambskin chuba, one knew he was rich, and that he was going in winter with the great caravan.*⁹

Bibliography¹⁰

Books and edition of books

- Sagant, Philippe. 1976 *Le paysan Limbu, sa maison et ses champs* (Paris, Mouton).
- Karmay, Samten; Sagant, Philippe. 1998 *Les neuf forçes de l'homme : Récits des confins du Tibet* (Nanterre, Société d'Ethnologie).
- ____ (éds). 1997 *Les habitants du toit du monde : Études recueillies en hommage à Alexander W. Macdonald* (Nanterre, Société d'Ethnologie).
- Sagant, Philippe. 1996. *The dozing shaman : The Limbu of eastern Nepal*. Scott, Nora B. (Trad.) (Delhi, Oxford University Press).

Articles

- Sagant, Philippe. 1969 Les marchés en pays limbu (notes sur trois *hat bajar* des districts de Taplejung et de Terhathum), *L'Ethnographie*, pp. 90-118.
- ____. 1969 Tampunma, divinité limbu de la forêt, *Objets et Mondes*, Print., vol.9, n°1, pp. 107-124.
- ____. 1970 Mariage par enlèvement chez les Limbu (Népal), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, vol. 48, pp. 71-98.
- ____. 1971 L'exploitation de Séveyrac. Aperçu sur l'évolution économique récente d'une ancienne grange abbatiale, *L'Aubrac : étude ethnologique, linguistique, agronomique et économique d'un établissement humain*. Tome 2 : ethnologie historique, Paris : Éditions du C.N.R.S. Recherche coopérative sur programme organisée par le C.N.R.S, pp. 167-209.
- ____. 1971 Note sur l'exploitation de Merlet, *L'Aubrac : étude ethnologique, linguistique, agronomique et économique d'un établissement humain*. Tome 2 : ethnologie historique, (Paris, Éd. du C.N.R.S. Recherche

9 S.G. Karmay and P. Sagant, 1998 *Ibid.* 189.

10 This bibliography was compiled by Stéphane Gros and Grégoire Schlemmer from Philippe Sagant's archive fund of Eric de Dampierre Library (LESC, MAE - Paris 10 Nanterre).

- coopérative sur programme organisée par le C.N.R.S.) pp. 211-216.
- _____. 1973 Les travaux et les jours dans un village du Népal oriental, *Objets et Mondes*, Hiver, vol.13, n°4, pp. 247-272.
- _____. 1973 Prêtres limbu et catégories domestiques, *Kailash*, vol.1, n°1, pp. 51-75.
- _____. 1975 Nationalité et État-nation : L'exemple de l'intégration politique des Limbu du Népal, *Pluriel*, n°2, pp. 3-20.
- Gallissot, René; Sagant, Philippe. 1975 Les Limbu : groupe ethnique ou nationalité ?. *Pluriel*, n°2, pp. 75-92.
- Sagent, Philippe. 1976 Les Limbu, population du Népal oriental, *L'Ethnographie*, n°72, pp.146-173.
- _____. 1976 La Chine, vue d'un village himalayen, *Critique*, Nov., n° 354, pp. 1186-1191.
- _____. 1976 Becoming a Limbu priest : Ethnographic notes, in J.T. Hitchcock, R.L. Jones (éds) *Spirit possession in the Nepal Himalayas* (Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd), pp. 56-99.
- _____. 1978 Les pouvoirs des chefs limbu au Népal oriental, *L'Homme*, Janv.-Juin, vol.18, n°1/2, pp. 69-107.
- _____. 1978 Du village vers la ville et la plantation, *L'Ethnographie*, n°77-78, pp.11-33.
- _____. 1978 Ampleur et profondeur historique des migrations népalaises, *L'Ethnographie*, n°77-78, p.93-119.
- _____. 1978 'Quand le Gurkha revient de guerre...', *L'Ethnographie*, n°77-78, pp.155-184.
- _____. 1979 Le chamane assoupi. In M. Gaborieau, A. Thorner (éds) *Asie du Sud : Traditions et changements* (Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), pp. 243-247.
- _____. 1980 Usuriers et chefs de clan : Ethnographie de la dette au Népal oriental, *Purusartha* n° 4, « La dette » (Paris : Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales), p.227-277.
- _____. 1981 Mais qui tuera le cochon dit ma mère ? *Objets et Mondes*, vol 21, n°2, pp. 83-86.
- _____. 1981 La tête haute : maison, rituel et politique au Népal oriental, in G. Toffin, L. Barré, C. Jest (éds). *L'Homme et la maison en Himalaya : Ecologie du Népal*. (Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), pp. 149-180.
- _____. 1981 Les gardiens de la banque : Histoires de vie et autres histoires,

- Tud Ha Bro, Sociétés bretonnes* 6. (Rennes, Université de Haute Bretagne), pp. 21-39.
- _____. 1981 Le fils des Quatre Orient. *Orients, Hommage à Georges Condominas*, (Paris, Sud-Est Asie-Privat), pp. 1-8.
- _____. 1982 L'hindouisation des Limbu, in A.W. MacDonald (éd.) *Les royaumes de l'Himalaya, histoire et civilisation* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale), pp.165-239.
- _____. 1982 Le chamane et la grêle, *L'Ethnographie*, vol.78, n°87-88, pp. 163-174.
- _____. 1982 L'espace limbu : Habitation et organisation du monde, *Les Cahiers de l'ADRI* 1, n°6/7, pp. 13-28.
- _____. 1987 La cure du chamane et l'interprétation des laïcs, in A.W. Macdonald (éd.), *L'Ethnographie. Rituels Himalayens*, n° 83, pp. 247-274.
- _____. 1987 Traditions enfantines : L'apprentissage des techniques au Népal oriental, in B. Koechlin et coll. (éds) *De la voûte céleste au terroir, du jardin au foyer* (Paris : École Pratique des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales), pp. 629-635.
- _____. 1988 Le vol des connaissances, *Autrement*, Hors série n°28, pp. 101-108.
- _____. 1988 Le rapt d'une femme. *Autrement*, Hors série n°28, pp.113-121.
- Karmay, Samten et Sagant, Philippe. 1988 La place du rang dans la maison sharwa (Amdo ancien), in D. Blamont, G. Toffin (Eds), *Architecture, milieu et société en Himalaya* (Paris, Éditions du CNRS, Études himalayennes n° 1), pp. 229-260.
- Sagent, Philippe. 1990 Les tambours de Nyi-shang (Népal) : Rituel et centralisation politique, in *Tibet : Civilisation et société* - Colloque organisé par la Fondation Singer-Polignac à Paris, les 27, 28, 29 avril 1987. (Paris, Fondation Singer-Polignac - Maison des Sciences de l'Homme), pp. 151-170.
- Michailovsky, Boyd et Sagant, Philippe. 1992 Le Chamane et les fantômes de la malemort : Sur l'efficacité d'un rituel, *Diogène*, Avr.-Juin, n°158, pp. 20-36.
- Sagent, Philippe. 1996 Les récits du chasseur, in C. Champion (éd.) *Traditions orales dans le monde indien, Purushartha* n° 18, (Paris, EHESS), pp. 419-428.
- _____. 1996 Dasai et le double pouvoir chez les Yakthumba, in G. Krauskopff et M. Lecomte-Tilouine (éds) *Célébrer le pouvoir : Dasai, une fête royale au*

Népal (Paris, Éditions du CNRS- Maison des Sciences de l'Homme), pp. 283-314.

Karmay, Samten et Sagant, Philippe. 1997 Introduction, in S. Karmay et P. Sagant (éds) *Les habitants du toit du monde : Études recueillies en hommage à Alexander W. Macdonald* (Nanterre, Société d'Ethnologie), pp. 9-30.

Sagent, Philippe. 1999 Horse trading in Tibet, Nepal and India (1956-1959), traduit par Keyes Susan, *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*, n°15-16, pp. 30-31.

English Translations

Sagent, Philippe. 1985 With head held high: The house, ritual and politics in east Nepal, *Kailash*, vol.12, n°3/4, pp.161-222.

_____. 1988. The shaman's cure and the layman's interpretation, *Kailash*, vol.14, n°1/2, pp. 5-40.

Michailovsky, Boyd and Sagant, Philippe. 1992 The Shaman and the ghosts of unnatural death : On the efficacy of a ritual, *Diogenes*, n° 158, pp. 19-37.

Book reviews

Sagent, Philippe. 1981 « Faith-Healers in the Himalayas » de C.J. Miller, *L'Homme*, Janv.-Mars, vol. 21, fasc. 1, pp. 134-135.

_____. 1982 Compte rendu de « Le Corps Taoïste » de K. Schipper, *Libération*, 15 mars.

_____. 1983 « Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India » de M. Weiner, *Annales*, n°2, pp. 299-300.

_____. 1984 « Ovibos, la grande aventure des hommes et des bœufs musqués » de R. Gessain, *L'Ethnographie*, pp. 223-225

_____. 1983 « Solstice Païen » de J. Y. Loude et V. Lièvre, *La Quinzaine Littéraire*, 6 mai.

_____. 1985 « Les Indiens du Canada » de S. Hargous, in *L'Ethnographie*, fasc. 1, p. 155-157.

_____. 1985. Compte rendu de « Voir, Savoir, Pouvoir, Le chamanisme chez les Yagua du Nord-Est péruvien », *L'Ethnographie*, fasc. 1, pp. 158-161.

_____. 1986. « Caste et classe en Asie du Sud (Purusartha 4) », J. Pouchepadass éd., *Revue Française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, n°272, pp. 375-376.

_____. 1987. « Shamanism in Eurasia » de M. Hoppal (éd.), *L'Homme*, Oct.-Déc., vol. 27, n° 104, pp. 123-125.

- _____. 1988 « Le Mendiant de l'Amdo » de H. Stoddard, *L'Homme*, Avr.-Sept., vol. 28, n° 106/107, pp. 357-359.
- _____. 1992 « Lieu de neige et de genévriers : Organisation sociale et religieuse des communautés bouddhistes du Ladakh » de P. Dollfus, *L'Homme*, Janv.-Mars, vol. 32, n° 121, pp. 206-208.
- _____. 1996 « La chasse à l'âme. Esquisse d'une théorie du chamanisme sibérien » de R. Hamayon, *L'Homme*, Avr.-Juin, vol. 36, n° 138, pp. 127-135.

Traduction d'ouvrage

Sagant, Philippe, en collaboration avec Gasiorowski, Jacek. Traduction de Stomma, Ludwik. 1986, *Campagnes insolites : paysannerie polonaise et mythes européens*, (Lagrasse, Éditions Verdier).

Films

- Sagant, Philippe, en collaboration avec B. Genestier. 1973 *En pays limbu*, 16 mm., coul. 35 min., montage J.P. Lacam, (Paris, Comité du film ethnographique).
- Sagant, Philippe, en collaboration avec G. de Caune et R. Cerre. S.d. *Dans l'Himalaya, au rythme des saisons*. Film En pays Limbu réduit à 13 min. pour la télévision. Antenne 2.
- Sagant, Philippe en collaboration avec H. Heer. 1988 *Reisende zwischen Himmel und Erde (Limbu)*. Hambourg, Multimedia.

EBHR

EUROPEAN BULLETIN OF HIMALAYAN RESEARCH

The EBHR is published twice a year.
The current subscription rates are given below.

Subscription rates

Type of Subscription	1 year	3 years
Institutions	70€	175€
Individuals	35€	85€
Students	25€	60€

For subscriptions please contact:

Astrid Zotter
Email: astrid.zotter@adw.uni-heidelberg.de

Address:
South Asia Institute
Im Neuenheimer Feld 330
D-69120 Heidelberg

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Proposals and manuscripts should be sent to the Managing Editor, William Sax (william.sax@urz.uni-heidelberg.de), via email. All articles submitted are subject to a process of peer review.

Book reviews should be sent to the book reviews editor, Arik Moran (arik.moran76@gmail.com). Similarly, Arik Moran may be contacted about books for review and will advise where they should be sent.

Articles should be written in English and should not exceed 10,000 words in length, including footnotes and references. When preparing your manuscript for submission to the EBHR, please observe the following conventions.

Spelling and punctuation

Use British English spellings, e.g. 'colour', 'supervised'.

Use single quotation marks throughout, except for quotes within quotes, which should take double quotation marks. Do not use scare quotes.

Reported speech and quotes from written sources should be given in plain text within single quotation marks. Quotations extending to more than 40 words should be in a separate indented paragraph.

The titles of books and the names of newspapers and journals should be given in italics with initial capitals.

References should not be given in footnotes, which should be used sparingly to provide supplementary information.

Diacritical marks may be employed for the transliteration of terms from Himalayan languages, but should be used correctly and consistently. Personal and place names should not take diacritical marks.

References

References in the body of the text should use the Harvard system, e.g. '(Hacchethu 1997: 17)' with a space after the colon and no comma between author and date; where there is more than one reference listed, put commas between them, not semi-colons.

When listing references at the end of articles, give the surname of the author followed by initials, e.g. 'Malla, K.P.' not 'Malla, Kamal Prakash'. Give the main title of a book with capital letters, but use lower case in the sub-title after an initial capital. Use lower case after an initial capital for the title of an article or book chapter.

References should be given as follows:

[Monographs]

Bennett, L. 1983. *Dangerous Wives and Sacred Sisters: Social and symbolic roles of high-caste women in Nepal*. New York: Columbia University Press.

[Chapters in Books]

Ishii, H. 1995. 'Caste and kinship in a Newar village'. In *Contested Hierarchies: A collaborative ethnography of caste among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal*, edited by David N. Gellner and Declan Quigley, pp. 109-57. Oxford: Clarendon.

[Journal articles]

Scheppele, K.L. 2003. 'Aspirational and adversive constitutionalism: the case for studying cross-constitutional influence through negative models'. *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 1(2): 296-324.

We welcome reports on seminars and conferences. For advertising rates please contact the editors.

EBHR, William Sax

Department of Anthropology, South Asia Institute

Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, 69120 Heidelberg, Germany

William.sax@urz.uni-heidelberg.de

EBHR

SOAS, LONDON • CNRS, PARIS • SAI, HEIDELBERG

ISSN 0943 8254

EBHR 46

ARTICLES

Perception or reality? A case study of corrupt practices in the forestry sector in Nepal 9

Kamal Adhikari

Hermit Village or Zomian Republic? An update on the political socio-economy of a remote Himalayan community 35

Richard Axelby

Rahul Sankrityayan and the Buddhism of Nepal 62

Alaka Atreya Chudal

Review Essay: A Pioneer of Comparative Himalayan Mythology (a review of Miyapma: Traditional Narratives of the Thulung Rai, by N.J. Allen) 88

Marion Wettstein

BOOK REVIEWS 97

OBITUARY 115

Summer 2015

published by the EBHR Editorial Committee
in conjunction with Social Science Baha, Kathmandu, Nepal